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THE

# EAST & WEST REVIEW

*An Anglican Missionary Quarterly*

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# WHAT THE SPIRIT SAITH TO THE CHURCHES

By C. KENNETH SANSBURY\*

**T**HE Christian Faith," says Professor Hodgson, "maintains that a certain sequence of events in the history of this world is the key-feature in the light of which everything in heaven and earth is to be understood. That sequence of events (sc. the history of Israel and the reconstitution of that Israel through the birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ) is regarded as having this supreme significance because it is believed to embody the action of God at work within history, rescuing His world from evil and restoring its possibility of perfection."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Christian sees the significance of history in unique terms. And for his insight he must do battle on two fronts. On the one hand, he must stand against all those tendencies of Eastern thought which regard the historical order as the realm of shadows, or as the sphere of striving from which the soul must seek deliverance. Against such ideas the Christian declares that history is the sphere of God's activity, that here He is working out His purpose to gather together into one all things in Christ and that the "key-feature" with its twin concepts of judgment and redemption provides the clue to understanding the significance of all history.

On the other hand, the Christian must oppose all secularist philosophies which seek to find the meaning of history within the historical orders itself and the outlook of Christian "fellow-travellers" who identify the movements of our time with the will of God *tout court*. Against these the Christian must assert that history is only properly understood against the background of eternity and God's transcendent sovereignty, never merely in terms of some earthly Utopia, whether rightist or Marxist or liberal democratic. The Christian hope is set, not on this world alone, but on that transcendent order, which the Bible describes in the phrase "a new heaven and a new earth."

If then, the Biblical story with its record of God's unchanging purpose and His varying strategies in the fulfilment of it—Israel, the faithful remnant, Israel reconstituted in Christ, the Catholic Church—provides us with the key to understanding God's activity in all history, what light does it shed on the contemporary scene? How are we to interpret the events of our day and what is their significance in the light of God's universal purpose to gather together into one, all things in Christ?

First, we must note the significant factors in the present world situation. Of these, three are, I believe, particularly important. The first is the perfervid nationalism which is stirring many nations of the world to-day. A recent writer in the *Spectator*<sup>2</sup> spoke, indeed, of two apparently

\* The Rev. Canon C. K. Sansbury was formerly a missionary in Japan and is now Warden of The Bishop's Hostel, Lincoln.

<sup>1</sup> *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> C. M. Woodhouse "Home Rule All Round," Jan. 14th, 1949.

contradictory movements. On the one hand, there is the movement towards greater aggregations of power—U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and perhaps also Western Union. On the other hand there is in many parts of the world a new freedom, and peoples hitherto subject to government from outside are rejoicing in a new-found national life and a newly attained political independence.

At our own doors we have the example of Eire with its republican constitution coming into force shortly. In the Middle East there is the newly-founded State of Israeli and the Moslem lands such as Egypt, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran and—further east—Pakistan. Further east still there are the Moslem populations of Java and Sumatra, and from the present troubles there, some kind of United States of Indonesia is likely to emerge. Many of these areas have been closed to the message of the Gospel, or at least have proved extraordinarily unresponsive, though the Dutch Church in Indonesia has made significant advances. But in countries such as Egypt and Iran, for instance, there has been hitherto the opportunity, at any rate, of preaching the Gospel and of educational and medical work. To-day these opportunities are shrinking. The cultural heritage of Islam, if not any particular revival of faith, provides the inspiration of the new nationalism and all that comes from the west and savours of an outgrown and despised subjection to the West finds itself cramped and confined.

Think of that scene in the Moslem world to-day and translate it into terms of the Africa of to-morrow. It is often said that in Africa a race is going on between materialism, Islam and Christianity. What is to replace the disintegration of tribal society and its accompanying animism? In the British colonial territories there is a great opportunity of partnership between Government and missions in the task of education at every level. In East, West and South Africa there are Christian communities, greater or smaller, seeking to meet the challenge of this new day.

But all across Africa Islam is spreading, too, with its freedom from colour prejudice and its sense of brotherhood; and African voices are heard in many areas saying, "Christianity is the religion of the white man, but Islam is the religion of the black." Materialism, too, is gaining its victims. It is not inconceivable that, if the race is lost, then half a century hence there will stretch across the centre of Africa a group of African states that will have achieved independence and that will build up their new national life on an Islamic or a secularist basis to the exclusion of the Gospel.

Turn to the sub-continent of India. Why was it not possible for that great area to remain united on the achievement of independence? The answer is obvious. Two racial, cultural and religious traditions found themselves equally desirous of independent expression and political sovereignty. So each went its own way, and, as Bishop Stephen Neill reports after his recent journey, "there is a different atmosphere in the two dominions" of India and Pakistan. The latter "is setting itself to become a Moslem nation," while the former "is inevitably taking on the colour of Hindustan, the country of the Hindus."<sup>3</sup>

Hinduism is, of all religions, the least definable in terms of creeds and

<sup>3</sup> *The Cross Over Asia*, p. 141.



the one to be explained best in terms of a social and cultural system. It is not surprising, then, that Bishop Neill should have found two grounds of anxiety among the Indian Christians he met. The first concerns "the right freely to change from one religion to another on the basis of inner conviction," the second relates to the opportunities for Christian education. "The Churches in India," says the Bishop, "have so far been faced rather by anxieties and menaces than by decisive hindrances to their work. Things may turn out better than the Christians fear, better even than they hope. But there is always the possibility that the secular and anti-Christian currents may win the day."<sup>4</sup> Once again we have the example of a new nationalism basing itself on a revival of the cultural traditions of a historic religion.

We may travel further east to such Buddhist countries as Ceylon, Burma and Siam. The two last-named are involved in internal struggles with Communist and other dissident elements, but the first, Ceylon, reduplicates the story of the countries further west. As it sets out on its course as a self-governing Dominion, so it turns back for its cultural inspiration to its traditional creed. Time and again it will be found that the political leaders of that country are men trained in Christian schools and colleges, men who in a number of cases have been baptized, but who have reverted to what seems almost a *sine qua non* of high office, the profession of Buddhism.

The second—and easily the most menacing, factor with which the Church has to reckon is the rise and spread of Communism. Of its world-wide expansion and its significant triumphs in these days there is no need to write, for they are plain for all to see. The capitulation of China with its vast population, particularly, though it has been deliberately played down in the British press, is by any reckoning an event of world-shaking importance with incalculable consequences for the whole of Asia.

This is not the place to attempt an exposition of the Marxist creed, but no assessment of it, it may be said, can be adequate which does not recognise that it is at once a philosophy, a faith and a gospel. In terms of the Hegelian dialectic "stood on its head" it expounds the material basis of ultimate reality. On that basis it professes to make clear the actual development of society over the centuries in a way that explains to the exploited and the depressed, the meaning of their oppression and their wretchedness. And then it sets before them a great hope—the classless society—and calls on them to rise and hasten its realization. "The philosophers," said Marx, "have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point is to change it."

With its conception of ultimate reality, Communism rejects the idea of God and the whole category of the supernatural. With them it jettisons any idea of a transcendent right and wrong, justice and injustice, good and evil. "Law," as M. Vyshinsky has said more than once at the United Nations, "is an instrument of policy." Right is that which advances the triumph of the proletariat, wrong that which obstructs it. It is not unnatural, then, that Communism should be marked by ruthlessness. No respect for conscience, no care for individual rights, can be

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 144.

allowed to stand in the way of ultimate objectives. As a recent broadcaster has said, "The primary object of communist parties is to get power, by any means. Power is an end in itself; but they also want power in order to establish a communist community, a secular heaven, heaven on earth, and they do not mind if they sacrifice an entire generation in the process."<sup>5</sup>

Why then, should Communism make such a world-wide appeal? The answer is because it speaks to desperate people. It is to the dispossessed, the enslaved, the toiling victims of modern industrialism, the hungry, disinherited millions in Asia and Africa, that Communism comes as a gospel. To them it speaks of deliverance—and revenge; of the classless Utopia—and the liquidation of the exploiting classes. Thus there is in Communism a paradoxical blend of idealism and cynicism, of concern for the ills of society in general and indifference to the individual in particular. In it the Church is confronted with a secular religion—"the only living religion," as the same broadcaster put it, "which can command fanaticism on a mass scale."

Thirdly, the Church is faced with a widespread weakening of the Christian tradition and heritage in the West. That weakening process has been going on a long time. One facet of it is the Renaissance rediscovery of man and the delight in immediate experience without bothering one's head about ultimate questions. Another is the achievement of autonomy by the different branches of human life, which followed the break-up of the medieval period, an achievement which in the circumstances was probably inevitable, but which left the different sides of life without any guiding principle or overarching purpose.

More recently the advance of science and its immense prestige have aided the decline of faith. Earlier conflicts over Galileo and Darwin linger on in people's memories, while the rigorous refusal of scientists to consider any conclusions that cannot be supported by experimental tests passes over from the spheres of physics and chemistry to those of theology and philosophy.

Then there has been the impact of two world wars and an intervening depression. Men and women in the West have begun to lose faith in civilisation, in the standards in which they have been brought up and in the faith of their fathers. Thus, while there is little active opposition to the Christian Church, and indeed much goodwill, there is only a minority which is prepared to commit itself to the demands of the Gospel. The rest either drift along with only a vague ideal of "being decent" to guide them or else are definitely secular humanists.

Where in all this, we must ask, can we see God's universal and unchanging purpose to gather together in one all things in Christ being worked out?

At first sight it may seem almost impossible to find the answer. The factors of which we have been thinking make such a menacing world picture that we may well be inclined to regard the Biblical pattern of history as an outworn dream. Yet faith cannot rest there. The Spirit speaks to the Churches in every age and we must seek to discover His Word to our time.

<sup>5</sup> A. S. P. Taylor, *The Listener*, Jan. 20th, 1949, p. 87.



First, then, it is important to notice how the Bible regards the great powers that menaced the people of God. They are not portrayed just as vast aggregations of hostile power, however little they might acknowledge Jehovah or know His name. The living God was no tribal God, His power circumscribed by the territory and influence of those who were specifically His people. He was the Lord of heaven and earth, the God for whom "the nations are as a drop of a bucket"<sup>6</sup> and who could use great world movements for the fulfilment of His purpose, even though the chief actors were quite unaware of any such thing. The Assyrian ruler knew nothing of Jehovah, yet Isaiah knew he was the rod of Jehovah's anger, "the staff in whose hand is mine indignation."<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Second Isaiah could speak of Cyrus as the Lord's anointed. "I have surnamed thee though thou hast not known me."<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Our Lord recognized the authority of Cæsar who knew nothing of the living God and St. Paul could say, "The powers that be are ordained of God."<sup>9</sup>

God, the Bible makes clear, works out His purposes of judgment and redemption through all kinds of unlikely agents and the one thing needful for the people of God is to discern His purpose and respond to His command.

With that clue in our minds, let us look at the world-scene to-day again. What light does it throw on the resurgent nationalism we have seen in country after country? Does it not reveal a purging process going on—a process that is distinguishing the Gospel and the Christian Church from the adventitious forces of Western imperialism and colonialism? I do not mean to imply, of course, that imperialist powers have been active, evangelistic agencies. Often indeed they have bent over backwards to avoid any such suspicion.

But when, as in India, there was a State connection with the Church through the Ecclesiastical Establishment, when, as in many lands, the leaders and missionaries of the Church belonged to the ruling race, how hard it was for motives not to be mixed! Either men and women were tempted to become Christians, because Christianity seemed to be part of the dominant civilisation, or else they would reject the Gospel, because it was identified with imperial power. In days to come men and women will have to decide for or against the truth as it is in Jesus on its appeal to the mind and conscience alone—and the adventitious factors will in most cases be unfavourable. May not God be shaking some of the transient things that have accompanied the preaching of the Gospel in order that the things that cannot be shaken may abide?

Further, may it not be that God is calling His Church through the fissiparous nationalisms and rival cultures of the contemporary world, not indeed to be unsympathetic to deep-seated instincts in the heart of men, but to point them to a wider unity? It is significant, surely, that in all the recent communal strife in India the only people who could be relied on as having a loyalty to the whole of India and whose relief work was given freely and impartially to Hindu and Moslem alike were the Christian community. A world divided into opposing cultures and

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah, 40, v. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Isaiah, 10, v. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Isaiah, 45, v. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Romans, 13, v. 1.

isolationist national groups is a world heading for conflict. A world in which, across the barriers of race and culture, there are the links of the one Gospel of God's universal purpose for all mankind is a world that can hope for some kind of unity and peace.

What, then, is God saying to us through the secular religion of Communism that also claims to be universal? He is surely making clear to us that there *has* been, in fact, a good deal of bourgeois conditioning of the Church's outlook in the last century or so. As the Committee of the Lambeth Conference concerned with the Church and the Modern World has expressed it, "we have to admit that the Christian Church throughout the formative decades of the industrial era showed little insight into what was befalling human society. It was still thinking in terms of feudalism. The Church of England was identified almost completely with the ruling classes, as were the Churches in Central and Eastern Europe. Its own economy had the marks of a dying feudalism or latterly, of a bourgeois society. Apart from provision for the education of the poor and the work of some Churchmen for the emancipation of slaves and of children in the factories, it was slow to take the initiative in the desperate fight for social justice. A Churchman here or there, a Christian group here or there, wholeheartedly upheld the cause of the oppressed, but only in more recent times has the Church begun to make a radical critique of Western Society, and to provide a climate that is not hostile to revolutionary spirits."<sup>10</sup>

Bishop Neill puts the point even more pungently. "To an older observer," he said, "it seems that the difference between Communist and Christian youth is that the Communist acts, while the Christian debates. . . . The Communist is sure that he has in his hands the means for the salvation of the world, and sets to work with full enthusiasm to convert the world to Communism. The Christian is hesitant and half-hearted."<sup>11</sup>

Thus, while we shall resolutely combat the fundamental falsity of the Communist dogma with every means at our disposal, we shall see in the Marxist creed the rod of the Divine anger judging our faithlessness and our lack of concern for God's poor. Similarly, in the disintegration of the West we shall recognize the Divine judgment on a Church which has too often been content to claim men's private lives for God, but allow their public activities to be under the sway of the world or the devil. Opposition to the anti-Christian movements of our time must not be just blind opposition and condemnation, for that can soon become a rigorist and spiritually stultifying attitude. It must be mingled with deep and sincere penitence.

But beyond that, it must be combined with resolution. Every occasion of Divine judgment carries with it also the possibility of forgiveness, of redemption, of a new start. That truth which is at the very heart of the Gospel is laid bare in the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Jesus was crucified by the Israel of God and in that act, God's chosen people judged themselves and were condemned. But God in His mercy took what seemed the final triumph of evil and transformed it into a source of power and life. Out of the events of Good Friday and Easter Day the

<sup>10</sup> *Lambeth Conference* 1948, Report Part II, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 156.



new Israel was born and by His being lifted up, Jesus tells us, He will draw all men to Himself.

So it may be in this dark hour. The forces arrayed against the Church of Jesus Christ are immensely strong. For the existence of these forces the Church cannot absolve itself of all responsibility, however much of human pride and sin may be intermingled with them. By their spread and influence the Church knows itself to be under the judgment of God and in need of the Divine forgiveness.

But that Divine forgiveness is always quickening, renewing and vitalising; and the Church in this generation may experience that healing pardon, if Christians everywhere learn to read aright the signs of the times and to hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

Moreover, all is not dark in the world picture. The Church of Christ may have much to confess, yet also it has much for which to be thankful. With all its weaknesses, God has used it. Bishop Neill, as he reflected on his hasty journey to the Churches of East Asia, put down as an outstanding impression "the miracle of the existence of the younger Churches in the East."<sup>12</sup> With all its weaknesses of numbers, experience, powers of leadership, the Church is in being across the world—"the great new fact of our time."

And, as God has used His new Israel in the past, so also He sets before it opportunities—opportunities that are there *to-day*, though they may no longer exist five, ten or twenty years hence. From Korea, China, Indonesia, India, the evidence gathered by Bishop Neill is the same. And all the information that reaches me from a Japan disillusioned by the collapse of its mystic nationalism points to the same conclusion. There are in the hearts of many across the world anxious questionings, scepticism in regard to the old ways, however much they be decked out in the trappings of new-found nationalisms, and a yearning for some spiritual power to fill the vacuum in their souls.

As we reflect thankfully on these facts, so also we can rejoice that across the world bearing witness to their friends and neighbours in need there are those in every land who are fully committed to Christ's service and alive to the meaning of His call. They are the evidence of His power to transform the lives of men and women in every country, every culture, every class, every occupation. Because of that witness, we can lift up our hearts and take courage.

For the Church of the living God is the Church brought into being by His victorious and gracious deliverance of men in Christ from all the powers of evil. As we share its life, enter into its fellowship and learn something of the victorious power of the living Christ in transforming the dark places of our own lives, we shall be able to say with increasing conviction the triumphant words of St. Paul: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine—nakedness, or peril, or sword?" Yes, and we shall add—or nationalism, or communism, or the increase of secularism? "Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>13</sup> Romans, 8, vs. 35 and 37.

# BISHOP'S EYE VIEW AND OPERATION OUTPOST

By T. R. MILFORD\*

*THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION—A SURVEY.* Edited by the  
Bishop of London (Oxford. 18s.)

*THE MISSION OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION.* Edited  
by the Bishop of Southampton and Canon Roger Lloyd. (S.P.C.K.  
& S.P.G. 10s. 6d.).

It was inevitable, and perhaps necessary, that the year of the Lambeth Conference should be the occasion for books about the Anglican Communion, and perhaps it was inevitable, too, that these books should in some degree blow our own trumpet. In spite of what Canon Lloyd says about our dislike of publicity, the Lambeth Conference was an occasion for publicity, which was well used. One of its functions was to put Anglicanism on the map, and there is certainly no undue modesty, and no appearance of apology in his own description of the "roots of democracy"—a sense of human equality, a passion for freedom and the liberty of prophesying, a recognition of social responsibility, and a right valuation of the unique importance and sacred rights of personality of every individual soul. All of these are marks of the life of the Church of England today, as they have been from time immemorial, and all have been inherited by and are daily exhibited in the life of all Anglican Churches.

The first of these books is a mainly factual description of the various provinces and other areas of the Church, as seen from on top. Some kind of questionnaire was sent to some distinguished person having a special knowledge of each area, indicating the points or some of them, which should be touched on. Former or present Bishops write for the Church in U.S.A., Canada and Newfoundland, India, Burma and Ceylon, South Africa, Australia and Tasmania, New Zealand, the West Indies and the East Indies and other competent authorities for the rest. The result is a guide which would have been still more useful if it had come out before the Conference, but which will for some years to come give a fuller and more accurate picture than anything else which the ordinary parson or layman is likely to have at hand. It paints in the background of the Overseas Section of Crockford. Crockford in fact can be used to give some precision to the general picture.

The authors, as is natural, give a good deal of space to constitutional questions, and describe very clearly exactly how, for instance, the synodical system of government works in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the U.S.A., just why the Province of South Africa has its tightly drawn

\* The Rev. T. R. Milford was a C.M.S. missionary in India, and is now Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral.



constitution, and why it works so felicitously, and why the Church of England in Australia contrives to get along without any constitution at all. But, to tell the truth, the ordinary reader tires of constitutional descriptions and finds them very soon running together in his mind. At this point Canon Addleshaw's essay in the other book was a help, showing how synodical government began both from below, as in the U.S.A., where Bishops arrived late, and from above, as in the nineteenth century colonial dioceses, where the Bishops were there almost from the beginning, and had to improvise the machinery for the exercise of authority, because the law of the Church of England just did not work.

In a bishop's eye view, the dioceses appear more uniform than they are. The constitutional patterns are classifiable; the Marks of the Church are alike; for no one would quarrel with the list which Mr. Bruce got the Far Easterns to agree to—open vernacular Bible, Creeds, Sacraments, Threefold Ministry, Vernacular Liturgy based on the B.C.P. Distinctive Attitude to Freedom and Authority; or Canon Lloyd's "notes"—Catholicity, Democracy, Passion for Freedom, Desire for Comprehensiveness, High Sense of Pastoral Duty; nor (of course) with the Four Points of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. But from underneath, other things, other differences, strike the eye. In Australia, e.g., 40 per cent. of the 80 per cent. who call themselves Christians are C. of E. In India and Pakistan the "Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon" ranks somewhere about half way down the list of Christian denominations in number and efficiency, and since the separation of the South Indian Church has perhaps 400,000 adherents in a population of over 400 million.

In Australia it is reasonable to discuss the functions of the Anglican Communion in the light of the Church of England at home. In certain parts even of Tropical Africa it is not obviously absurd to suggest that "when the provinces are established it (the Church) will develop into being the Church of the people of Africa as the Church of England is of the English people." No, that doesn't seem absurd in Uganda, nor perhaps on the Gold Coast; but even there it won't be *as* the Church of England, if only because it has nowhere begun by being the *only* church and the *only* bearer of civilization.

In other contexts the theory may obscure the facts, nobly (but a little absurdly, too) as when "the Episcopal Church is in its own eyes the only genuine Church in Scotland, and claims to be the proper home of all Scottish Christians," and just absurdly, as when we read, "It is well to remember that India, China and Japan, which have grown to the status of self-governing provinces, only received their first Anglican bishops in 1814, 1849 and 1866 respectively."

It may be, then, a little misleading, in trying to think of the mission of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, to make so much a Canon Lloyd does, of those features of the Church of England which belong to it as established. The complication of the true state of affairs is shown by the fact that Dr. Wand in illustrating the friendly relations between Church and State characteristic of our Communion finds himself quoting a testimonial of Pandit Nehru to the "all-India outlook" of Christians as such.

It is perfectly true that the Anglican Communion, in spite of its theory

of "national churches" has not so far produced "nationalistic" churches. The growth we are considering, and the unity displayed at Lambeth, and the variety in unity, are remarkable on any reckoning; the only secular parallel is the simultaneous expansion of the British Commonwealth through colonialism to free association. In both cases the influence has spread beyond the limits of the Anglo-Saxon race—Bishop de Mel, Ceylonese, Keble-and-Cuddesdon is more immediately *en rapport* with a crowd of English theologians than most of the English there. But in the Church, as in the Commonwealth, hitherto the leadership has been exercised, and the tone has been set by, members of the English ruling class. (We find significant admissions that even in Australia and the U.S.A. there is a feeling that the Church is vaguely upper-class; its members are found in "the upper income class brackets," and think in terms of "our kind of people.")

Before leaving this book, a special word of gratitude is due to the brilliant essays on the Mediterranean and the Near and Middle East, by Dr. Wigram and on the Churches of Scotland, Ireland and Wales by Dr. C. B. Moss. It is worth reading the whole book if only to find that the Pope really *did* say to the Bishop of Gibraltar that he believed he had the honour to be in his Lordship's Diocese, and to read the Bishop's reply, so far surpassing what one had thought of for oneself.

The other book is much harder to give an account of. The ordinary reader might expect from its title that it would be about what the Anglican Communion as such stands for and what is its unique contribution to the world; but that was the purpose of the Bishop of London's book. This one is concerned with operations and the front—in our ordinary language a good deal of it is about "missions," and with those tricky synopses where the races and traditions meet, and where (for instance) the member of the English upper-middle class finds himself as colleague, over or under someone of another race and way of thought. In the first half, entitled "Survey," I should pick out as most important the Rev. N. J. Blow's article on the Theology of Missions. This is a summary and criticism of the works on "Missiology" of Père Charles, S.J., of Louvain. The letter makes a quite clear-cut distinction between *missions* and any other activity of the Church. The formal cause of missions is "the planting of the Church in all its completeness, where it either has never existed, or where it has ceased to exist." This puts the provision of a competent native ministry right at the centre, and relegates to a peripheral position all the other things, the works of mercy, etc., which a missionary society may legitimately do. *After* the Church is established in every land, evangelization and conversion of individuals and all the other activities of the living Church will continue to the end of the world. "The mission of the Church must be never-ending to the last day; the work of missions is of limited duration. Because of this, missions must take note of exceptionally favourable conditions, which once missed, will not recur." Missions so defined must necessarily be under the control of the Church herself as their *efficient cause* and use as their *material cause* the existing culture of the people to whom they go, fulfilling it thereby. Here is a most serviceable framework within which to discuss the various problems of missionary policy. Accept these



terms, and you have at once more clearly stated the reasons for sending men and money abroad when so much is to do at home; accept the authoritative direction from above, and you put the unrulier societies in their proper place along with the S.P.G., and you can direct your theological candidates according to some reasonable plan. But no, it is too tidy, it ignores the infinite gradations between heathendom and Christianity, and it only looks convincing if "The Church" is the unambiguous term which, at the price of unchurching all other Christians, it is to Rome.

And so a great part of the value of this book is, that it breaks up the tidiness—compassion will keep breaking in; the Spirit blows where He lists, and if Anglicanism has stood for anything, it surely has not been tidiness. So we are not really shocked to find that Canon Lloyd thinks the "geographical" sense of missions is obsolete, and we rejoice when he points out that the only advantage Charlemagne had over us is that the church was completely disorganized in his time. Nor are we surprised to find that Canon Broomfield, with East Africa mainly in view, thinks that the industrialization of Africa must go forward, for the good of the African and his Church—in other words, that "Livingstone was right," and that Canon Paterson in Southern Rhodesia wants to preserve African art from contamination by western models. Most of the essays under "giving and receiving" spring from some personal experience or experiment of the writer, and that is what gives them their life. The embittered Indian priest drawn to Christ in spite of his hatred of "imperialistic" missionaries is not revealing the whole truth about missionaries or about Indian Christians but Bishop Pakenham Walsh, spending his old age in his South Indian *ashram*, is not revealing the whole truth about missionaries either, nor is the Rev. E. Sambayya, drawn from Hinduism through Methodism by the Prayer Book, to "inclusive catholicism," typical of Indian Christians. Yet the same Christ has hold of each. And so it is with Bishop Yashiro describing the strain of the Church of Japan in war-time and schism. The amazing concreteness of the Japanese mind shows the whole story in terms of personal decisions, and makes credible the firmness and mercifulness of the subsequent reconciliation.

It so happened that while I was all Lambeth-minded, preparing for this review, I received a pamphlet which sees the Christian history of the last seventy-five years as that of a period of catastrophic deterioration. And that is true, too. While our far-flung line has girdled the globe, materialism has made inroads both on the old religions and on Christianity. And to the writer of this pamphlet the advances made by his own peculiar sect are "great new fact of our time." We ought therefore to be realistic first of all, and to eschew the map-reading illusion. The "occupation" of the greater part of the mission field is incredibly thin. The 258 Overseas Bishops far outnumber the home bishops (see any account of Lambeth, *passim*) but they represent (in Crockford) 3,800 parishes, and in Dr. Wand's phrase 3,000 "native clergy" (plus, no doubt, a good many missionaries and other immigrants). This is a very thin force for the occupation of all that world. Now the Holy Spirit has undoubtedly taken advantage of the British Empire and Commonwealth, as He did of the Roman Empire, to carry the seeds of the Church

far and wide ; and as is His way, he has baptized into it and so "fulfilled" (in Père Charles's phrase) a good deal of the English way of life, our culture, our temper, our *ethos*—and our architecture and our hymns. Among other purposes, no doubt, that is what He made us for. But, among all the essays of these two books, are there half a dozen admissions that the English way of life has also obscured Christ? That sometimes in spite of His Englishmen, He has here and there shone through? Not by our strength, nor on account of our intrinsic goodness, are we entitled to think that (in Archbishop Benson's perilous phrase) the Church of England is "now charged with the world's Christianity."

Perhaps we had better forget that, and as so many of these writers have told us that the genius of the Church of England is pastoral, we had better be pastoral. The Lambeth Bishops are pastoral again all right by this time ; their heads are full of their next committee and their hands are confirming children of many colours, nearly all of whom will live and die utterly unknown in countries that have no history. Some of these dioceses and provinces, or rather some of the countries in which they are, will be caught up, perhaps, into world-shaking events and some of our fellow-Christians will play great parts. Some, it may be, will be cut off wholly or partly from England, and from the rest of our Communion—it has happened before to bodies of Christians. Sometimes they have died out ; but generally they have survived ; and as the Syrians of Travancore and other groups have proved, a church with Bishop and Sacraments can be extremely tough—how much more then, with the Scriptures and Liturgy in their own tongue? We don't know yet the resisting power and the redeeming power of the Christian Church, where it is apparently submerged by the modern forms of heathenism ; we don't know, because the modern heathenisms are too modern ; but in spite of appearances the Church of Russia is still the Church.

Nor do we know, where and how the battle of western democracy and Russian Communism will be fought out. We do know that the temptation will be to identify the cause of Christ with that of western democracy, and that if we do that we are lost (not, of course, the cause of Christ, but we to it.) We do know that whatever happens to the course of history the Church will have a pastoral and evangelistic job to do, and a culture or a barbarism to baptize.



# THE CENTENARY OF THE DIOCESE OF RUPERT'S LAND (1849-1949)

By THE MOST REVERENT L. RALPH SHERMAN\*

**T**HE Right Reverend David Anderson, first Bishop of Rupert's Land, was consecrated at Canterbury on Whitsun Tuesday, 29th May, 1849. Accompanied by his three motherless boys, his sister and the Reverend Robert Hunt, he left England on 7th June, arrived at Fort York on 16th August, and at Dynevour on 3rd October, of the same year. He preached his first sermon in the old wooden Church of St. Andrew's on Sunday, 7th October.

In the Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation on St. John the Evangelist's Day, 1850, he had this to say of his territory :

The fact that when we gaze on the lakes and rivers and mighty interlying plains of Rupert's Land, not a single city or town meets the eye ; the manner in which a small body of settlers planted in it by a benevolent nobleman, forms now the centre of light, the little oasis in the wilderness ; the way in which, over the rest of the country, the forts are thinly scattered, with but a handful of each professing the Christian faith, and all darkness around ; the method in which the native population seek their subsistence, wandering about from spot to spot, according as the necessity of the chase, the want of fish or of wood may compel them ; all this, joined to many other things which readily suggest themselves to your own minds, stamp upon this Diocese a distinctiveness of feature, to which, I am bold enough to affirm, no parallel exists at the present hour on the surface of the globe.

And he continued with a memorable passage, which, in the light of our gathering of 329 Bishops at Lambeth last year, sounds not only very statesmanlike but prophetic indeed :

We ought to study well our position, in order to see clearly where we stand among the churches of God, when and where we are called to work in the Lord's vineyard. Now this is, brethren, the remotest Diocese in the West. If we are all travelling westward, as the poet lately taken hence has sung—if the gospel's course has been westward, and if it is to be preached as a witness among all nations before the end come, then it has well-nigh run its course in this part of this mighty continent. America is nearly embraced. This, the remotest Diocese, stretches as far as the Rocky Mountains, almost within sight of the waters of the Pacific. I should have called it the youngest, the last-formed Diocese a week ago ; but intelligence has just reached us, that another Bishop has been consecrated since—that the Diocese of Montreal is separately constituted, so that now the Dioceses of British North America are seven. Of these we are the most distant ; beyond us there is but one clergyman, on the other side of the mountains at Vancouver. Should necessity require, and no means of Episcopal ministration be supplied, I might hereafter have to visit that spot for the purpose of confirmation ; or, should the population of Vancouver Island increase, and any number of clergymen be planted in the Columbia, Vancouver might then be suitably selected as a spot for a Bishop of its own.

\* The Most Rev. L. R. Sherman, D.D., LL.D., has been Archbishop of Rupert's Land since 1943.

Then, from China to the Pacific, the chain of Sees would be complete ; from Victoria the eye would pass to Calcutta, with her three suffragan Bishoprics, from Bombay to Jerusalem, thence along the Mediterranean to Gibraltar and, crossing the Atlantic to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Rupert's Land, and, if it might be so at a future day, Vancouver. A glowing thought, that the Church of the British Isles should span the world !

Another passage from this same Charge should be quoted also. He looks back to the coming of the Reverend John West in October, 1920, and asks, " Has any real progress been made ? " And he continues :

My answer is, Look around and compare the circumstances of the Red River now with what they were thirty years ago. We can scarcely imagine the country without a minister to comfort and encourage the inquirer, to cheer and gladden the sick by his visit, and raise the eye of the dying to a better land. We can scarcely imagine the condition of the family, when no matrimonial bond had been solemnly entered into, no blessing of God invoked on the union : we cannot imagine children growing up without any dedication to the Saviour in infancy, no education to prepare them for their duties in life, none to fit them for an endless eternity. We cannot imagine the dead consigned to the grave without any religious service—no minister to comfort the bereaved and to solemnize the occasion to those left behind. Yet such things must have been : weeks without their sabbath, sick beds without comfort, death-beds without hope. And is there no change now ? Let the condition of the settlement convince the blindest. There is a very exemplary observance of God's holy day ; a good attendance in the house of God ; a very large number of communicants and, I hope, at home, much patient and careful study of God's Word. We may still be far removed from what we ought to be, as a people living in the fear and worship of God, but, in the retrospect of the past, we must be guilty of the deepest unthankfulness, were we not to say, " What hath God wrought ! "

And now, one hundred years later, what ?

Out of the original Diocese was formed within a very few years the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, which now comprises the Civil Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, the North-west Territories, and a strip of Western Ontario, and includes ten Dioceses—Rupert's Land, Keewatin, Brandon, Qu'Appelle, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Calgary, Edmonton, Athabasca and the Arctic, as well as the Deanery of Mackenzie River. Two other Dioceses formerly belonged to it—Moosonee, which was transferred to the Ecclesiastical Province of Ontario, and Yukon (originally Selkirk), which was transferred to the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia.

Well may we still say, " What hath God wrought ! "

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The Centenary Celebrations will be held in the week of 2nd to 9th October, 1949. They will include special Services in all Churches of the Diocese on one or both Sundays ; a Service of Witness in the Winnipeg Auditorium on Sunday evening, 2nd October ; a Banquet on Monday evening, 3rd October ; the presentation of an Historical Pageant in the Playhouse Theatre on Wednesday and Thursday evenings, 5th and 6th October ; and a Service in the historic old St. Andrew's Church on Friday evening, 7th October.

An Historical Booklet and special Lectures are being prepared, and



there will also be special Commemorations in St. John's College, St. John's College School and Rupert's Land Girls' School.

Two very special objects of the Centenary are :

1. The procuring of fifty boys from homes in this Diocese for the Ministry of our Church in the Missionary areas of this Ecclesiastical Province or of other Missionary Dioceses of our Church, wherever the need is greatest ; and first five to be set apart and commissioned as "Centenary Scholars of St. John's College" at the great Service of Witness, Commemoration and Thanksgiving on 2nd October, and another five to be similarly set apart and designated at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term in each of the nine succeeding years. This in tardy fulfilment of Bishop Anderson's plan "for the training of a native ministry."

2. The raising of a Centenary Thank Offering as provided for by the following Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Diocese :

That in Thanksgiving to Almighty God for His Manifold Blessings to this Diocese during the past one hundred years ; and in memory of David Anderson, its first Bishop, and all His other servants—Bishops, Clergy, Lay Men and Women—who, having served Him here, have now departed this life in His Faith and Fear :

A Centenary Thankoffering Fund be inaugurated forthwith by means of Centenary Thankoffering Boxes : the Boxes to be distributed throughout the Diocese before Ash Wednesday and collected for presentation of the Thankoffering at the Centenary Service in October :

The Thankoffering to be used for Centenary Students, Missionary Stipends and Church Extension, respectively, as necessary.

Thirty thousand Thank Offering Boxes have been sent to the Parishes.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Letters Patent for the new See were issued on 21st May, 1849.

The following extracts from the letters of Bishop G. J. Mountain under date of 21st December, 1847, concerning the matter may be of interest :

I bless God to learn that my prayers have been heard (although better prayers than mine have been given for the attainment of the object) on behalf of Red River—my visit to which place, four years ago, gave the means of knowing how deeply the work of the Episcopal ministrations are felt in that quarter. I confirmed there nearly 850 persons. Respecting the title of the See upon which you do me the honour to consult me, I think it must be between Assiniboia and Rupertia. The whole territory has no name which could be at all proper for a title. The Red River would be an awkward kind of title. That is not the full name of the place which is the Red River Settlement or colony. . . . The official or formal name of the settlement is Assiniboia, and the resident Chief Factor of the H. B. Company is Governor over a certain district, and is called Governor of Assiniboia. There is no town, nor even village, the settlement extending up the river and another which unites with it for a space of between 50 to 60 miles without any continuous line of houses in any one spot. Every house stands detached. The establishment of a See will of itself constitute a focus and probably form a centre . . . it appears to one quite warrantable to create a name for it . . . the territory there being called Prince Rupert's Land, and I do not see why the See should not be Rupertia.

With reference to the extent of the jurisdiction, I should be disposed to make it co-incident with the territory proper of the Hudson's Bay Company. It could not comprehend all their establishments, many of which are far

beyond the limits of their own territory—some on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, some in wild parts of Upper Canada, within the limits therefore of the Diocese of Toronto . . . Vancouver Island, and any other establishment which may be within British territory in that direction, must form, I think, a separate Diocese. The Roman Catholics have already consecrated here a Bishop for that Island.

The Bishop must be a person not sparingly endued as with innocence . . . of the dove, so that the wisdom which may be expected also to be found in him, considering who they are who have the selection. . . . The Protestant population have no ministrations but those of the Church of England, and the missionaries are greatly beloved, but the first settlers planted by Lord Selkirk were principally Scotch. . . . Concessions were made to meet prejudices which were not in my apprehension quite judicious. . . . Habits and practices have grown up . . . difficult to correct . . . but the good affection of the mass of the 2,300 people of the settlement may be inferred . . . the task of the Bishop will require a very prudent, moderate and cautious course of proceeding . . . it is an important object to keep them together and to prolong the unity which has thus far existed.

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After an Episcopate of exactly fifteen years Bishop Anderson resigned the See of Rupert's Land on 4th October, 1864, to take effect on that date. His further ministry was exercised as Vicar of Clifton, Bristol, where he laboured for over twenty years.

Two passages placed side by side will tell something of what was accomplished under his Episcopate. The first is from the Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation on 27th December, 1850, and the second from that delivered at his Fifth and Last Visitation on 6th January, 1864 :

(1) To sum up, then, my own labours, and our present numbers and condition. Two churches have been consecrated, that of St. Andrew's, Red River, and Christ Church, Cumberland, with the burial-ground of the latter. Two Ordinations have been held ; at the first one deacon, at the second one deacon and two priests were ordained. Besides this, there have been five Confirmations, four at the Red River and one at Cumberland. The number of clergy at the present moment, with myself, is ten. Of the nine, four have, I may say, parochial charges, including that of the Assiniboine. The other four have native charges, and more purely missionary work. (1850.)

(2) We are at the present moment twenty-three. As before, I have been anxious to leave all in Priest's Orders. Under the circumstances of the country, until some larger influx of settlers take place, or the population gather round anew centres, I should scarcely look to our exceeding twenty-five. Only one European labourer has been added to our number, so that our Ordinations stand five deacons and six priests—of those ordained deacons, the Europeans being to the natives in the proportion of one to four. I think this would in some measure prove that we are seeking to do our part, and it would, I humbly imagine, give us some claim on help from abroad. (1864.)

And now, one hundred years later, again what ? Ten Dioceses in the original territory as before mentioned instead of one—plus two others transferred—with a total Clergy list within the area of around four hundred and an Anglican population of over a quarter of a million souls.

Again—"What hath God wrought !"

\* \* \* \* \*



At the meeting of the Correspondence Committee of the Church Missionary Society held at Bishop's Court, Red River, on 28th December, 1865, the following Minute was recorded :

The Committee desire to place on record their deep sense of the devotion with which the late Bishop of Rupert's Land laboured for the cause of Christ in this Diocese. But more specially they wish to express gratitude for the warm interest he took in the Missions of this Society and for the untiring love with which he exerted himself in their behalf. Mainly by his efforts the Society has been induced to extend their Missions till they have reached their present magnitude. They pray that God's blessing may rest largely on his labours in his new sphere and that he may be cheered by the happy tidings from time to time of heathen Indians brought to a knowledge of the Saviour in the Mission field of this land.

But Bishop Anderson's work for Canada was not ended. On 1st May, 1865, he was preaching the Anniversary Sermon for the C.M.S. at St. Bride's, London. He told of a lonely mission station on the Yukon River where a Priest with fast-failing health was holding to his post of duty until someone should come to relieve him. "Shall no one come forward?" he asked. Following the service, a young Lincolnshire Curate walked into the Vestry and offered to go. His name was *William Carpenter Bompas*. Almost exactly two months later, on 30th June, he left London and arrived at Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River on Christmas morning, 1865. The rest of the story all the world knows.

LAUS DEO !

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### *Tribute to African Clergy.*

The Bishop on the Upper Nile at a meeting in London last year paid a moving tribute to the work of the African clergy :

"The spirit and faith of our African clergy, poorly paid and overworked, lacking in modern education as they are, remain a constant miracle to me. There is no doubt to my mind that they are the salt of the earth of Uganda, and both we missionaries, as well as Government officials and Africans and Europeans generally, owe them a tremendous tribute. What the tribes of the diocese would have done without their faithful zeal and spiritual and social leadership I do not know. To them belongs the credit for building from the bottom the big network of schools in the country—a fact which is little appreciated, if known at all, by the British public. To them belongs the credit for much of the newly awakening African public opinion to raise the status of womanhood. To them we are owing an appreciation of African music with Christian words, and of much literature and translation work, not only of the Bible, but also folklore, tribal history and welfare literature. To them we owe the emergence of new styles of buildings; and time and time again it has been the African pastor who has encouraged the individual chiefs and tribal groups to new enterprises for the lifting up of their people."

*The Church on the Upper Nile—December, 1948.*

# THIS MASS EDUCATION BUSINESS

By W. E. F. WARD\*

THERE is a story of a young Liberal politician in the last century who aspired to get into Parliament. His friends wished him well, but could not imagine him successfully addressing an election meeting. Yet he seemed to survive; and when asked how he managed, he explained, "Oh, well, you see, if I get stuck, I just say 'Mr. Gladstone,' and then they all cheer, and that gives me time to think." The phrase "mass education" may be recommended for modern use as similarly convenient. Pronounce it in a suitably pious intonation to the proper audience, and you will be rewarded with decorous applause or a devotional hush. Pronounce it to the wrong audience, and they will want to throw things at you. What is there about this mass education business that inspires such emotion?

Let us begin by clearing out of the way the confusion between mass education and fundamental education. They are two names for one and the same thing—a regrettable example of the tendency to be afraid of calling a spade a spade. *Mass* education is thought to have a patronising air as if used by a mandarin with reference to the masses who toil in the paddy-fields. So, says U.N.E.S.C.O., let us speak of fundamental education instead, since nobody need be ashamed of receiving the fundamentals of education. The terms do not bear the same meaning, but that does not matter; they shall be taken to refer to the same thing. (And yet U.N.E.S.C.O., so anxious to avoid the term mass education, continues to use the terms mass media or mass communications for Press, films, radio—very odd!) So let us continue to talk about mass education, keeping the term fundamental education as its equivalent in UNESCan—this new language which we all have to learn, as Monsieur Briand said.

Now it is a curious thing about mass education that though everybody talks about it, nobody will say what it is. You will not find it defined in the celebrated Colonial No. 186, the Report on Mass Education in African Society. The term is used freely—it even comes into the terms of reference of the sub-committee which drew up the Report—but what is it? Silence. And it is difficult to extract any definition of mass education from the initiates of its mysteries. Is it an educational method? No. A technique? Heaven forbid! Does it mean the education of the whole mass of citizens, from Eton to Borstal? No, it cannot be limited to formal schooling. Then does it mean adult education as distinct from children's education? No, because the school system is a necessary element. And so on.

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If we cannot find an explicit definition, can we get a definition by inference? Paragraph 16 of the Report (page 10) does not say what mass education is, but it gives four suggestive means of attaining it: (1) universal schooling; (2) adult literacy; (3) planning it—planning what?—as a spontaneous movement of the community; (4) co-ordinating it—co-ordinating what?—with welfare. These four methods are repeated two pages later, with the addition of a fifth—period targets. It seems from this that mass education includes universal schooling for children, plus universal literacy for adults, plus a mysterious x; and the whole thing is to be co-ordinated with welfare and planned by the community itself. It almost looks as from this if there is very little difference between mass education and education; that the word *mass* has very little significance.

Let us try another line of approach. Suppose we look at some of the work which is called mass education. At Um Gerr in the Sudan they give courses in better living to village headmen: digging wells, co-operation, camel shows, health and agricultural technique. No literacy here yet. At Mindolo in Northern Rhodesia and in the Sierra Leone campaign, attention is concentrated on literacy. At Udi, Mr. Chadwick has combined literacy with what he calls communal development, though it would appear that it is in communal development—roads and bridges, dispensaries and co-operative shops—rather than in literacy that progress has been most striking. In Jamaica they go all out for food for family fitness. Mr. Maclaren in Ethiopia and now in Nyasaland seems to work along lines similar to those of the Udi scheme: homecrafts, like knitting; communal development, such as digging wells and building schools and washing houses; with literacy as an ancillary activity. In Mexico and some other countries of Latin America they have the culture brigade, which turns the heat on to one small area at a time, and is not satisfied until its villagers have provided themselves with better houses, better sanitation, roads, bridges, and wells (if not also dams and irrigation systems) and are not merely reading and writing, not merely growing fruit and green vegetables, not merely composting and contour-ridging, equipping themselves with co-operative shops and maternity clinics, but developing arts and crafts, embroidery, wood-carving, folk dancing and so forth. This is perhaps the most ambitious scheme of the lot in conception, at any rate. And, of course, it is customary to say that in Russia they are doing all sorts of wonderful things; though nobody but the Russians has seen them or knows what they are—and the Russians won't tell.

What does all this amount to? None of these countries—not even Russia, as far as we know—has yet achieved, or come near to achieving, universal adult literacy or universal primary education for children; and adult literacy and primary schooling are far from predominant in any of these mass education projects. These two things are evidently regarded, not merely by the authors of the Report, but by the people doing the work in the field, as means, not as ends. Then what is the end? It seems to me that Mr. Chadwick's phrase *communal development* is as good a description as we can find. It is not mass education if the health authorities out of the goodness of their heart provide a dispensary



and a dispenser, or an agricultural officer runs a demonstration farm, kept in apple-pie order after the white man's fashion by native staff who run their own plots in the traditional ways of the country, which they know and believe in. (We know how easy it is to get people to repeat lessons without making the slightest attempt to practise what they preach—like the teacher who gave an excellent lesson on the malarial mosquito and excused himself for not having any illustrations or specimens by saying that the children could see mosquito larvæ in the school yard every day of their lives.) Mass education begins when the people propose to build themselves a dispensary, and besiege the agricultural officer with requests for advice.

This suggests that there is no real difference between mass education and the everyday work of the doctor, vet., agriculturist, education officer, and perhaps, above all, the district commissioner in the ordinary Colonial Government machine. Or, if there is a difference, it may be cynically expressed by saying that as long as the agriculturist's demonstration farm fails to persuade the people, it remains merely a demonstration farm; when it is successful it becomes a piece of mass education and qualified for U.N.E.S.C.O.'s patronage. Then, have all these Government officers, like Monsieur Jourdain, who learned late in life that he had been speaking prose for half a century, been practising mass education all their lives? Is mass education nothing more than the sum total of what governments—and missions—are already doing in the social services? Well . . . yes and no. Yes, because if their efforts are successful, the people will not merely submit with a good grace to having things done for them, but will want to do things for themselves. No, because how seldom are their efforts successful in this sense! People will take the pure-bred chicks and bring their cows to the Government bull; but will they look after their cattle and poultry as the vet. would like them to? Will they give up bad farming practices on the agriculturist's advice? Does the district commissioner find that the revenue he collects in fines for sanitary offences goes down and down because the preaching of the doctor and the sanitary officers is so successful? Can all the King's horses and all the King's men reduce the numbers of the cattle and stop the over-grazing and the erosion? When we can answer all these questions with a confident "Yes," we shall be able to claim that our mass education is succeeding. Till then we can only say that we have the right aims, but our methods are inadequate.

Why are they so inadequate? Now we are getting near the point. For one thing, I have never yet met an officer (whether Government or mission) engaged in social services—district commissioner, agriculturist, doctor, or anyone else—who did not complain that he had too much work to do for him to do any of it really well. There is too much secretariat paper; too many farms to visit; too many patients to attend to; too many schools to report on. "If I had two more assistants to take some of the routine work I could get out more and do my real job; I could stay longer with one farmer, look into this patient's home life (I'm sure he would recover if only I had time to show his wife how to nurse him), show this teacher how to run a boys' club or an adult literacy class." That is how they all talk, and how right they are, and

how the villagers agree with them! "The district officer never has time to talk to us nowadays as he used; he stops his car for ten minutes as he passes through, and that is all we see of him."

Is not the answer that we are trying to do too much, spreading our effort too widely? It is absurd to put one agricultural officer into a district the size of an English county and expect him virtually unaided to raise the whole standard of farming practice. Of course he cannot do it; it is like trying to raise steam in the Royal Scot with one candle in the fire-box. We must concentrate our efforts. We must concentrate our few and expensive European staff, and we must make it their first object to raise up native leaders. Build up a team (or a unit, if you prefer the term) of good people, whatever you have available—doctor, teacher, co-operative officer, welfare officer. Make them work as a team, not as a collection of individuals. Choose one area, study it, get to know the people and their needs—and their desires. Decide what you can do in that area, and set yourself an objective; perhaps to popularize ground-nuts and stamp out *anopheles funestus*. Plan your campaign carefully. Pick out native leaders, make sure they understand the objective and welcome it, and agree that it can be achieved in the time, and then use them for all they are worth. Stay in the area till you have achieved your objective and the people have seen for themselves what can be done, and until the native leaders who have been working with you are ready to carry on by themselves towards the next objective.

It seems to me that these three characteristics, concentration on one small area at a time, team-work towards a carefully chosen objective, and choice of native leaders to carry on, are the essentials of mass education. A handful of foreign technicians cannot evangelize a whole territory. Only the people themselves can do that. What the foreign technicians can do is to train native leaders for the job.

Even that, of course, leaves one big question unanswered. You may train your native leaders, but it does not follow that they will want to lead, any more than it follows from training a farm supervisor that he will run his private farm in the official manner. How are we to discover the incentive which will drive them forward? What can we do to ensure that when we have started a small flame it will leap forward with a roar and a rush till the whole bush catches fire? Well, there is the problem. If we knew the answer, mass education would not now be an affair of scattered projects, but would cover the continents as the waters cover the sea. Of course we work under great difficulties. We have not army discipline and the will to victory, with war-time lavishness of equipment to aid us. We have not the complete control of Press, films, radio, and all other types of publicity. We cannot compel people, we have to persuade; and persuasion is a slow process, though it is commonly more effective than compulsion in the long run. Does it not suggest that our native colleagues are more likely than ourselves to discover the right incentive? In China and Russia and Turkey there is the appeal of nationalization—our country needs your help, and you will be more useful if you are educated. In Colonial territories it is difficult for overseas officers to make this appeal; it can only be made by native leaders. Nationalism can hardly be expected to appeal to many people

in a territory like Tanganyika or Nigeria, and we shall have to find some other appeal. Africans are more likely than we are to find the right button to press.

What about literacy, which bulks so large in much of the U.N.E.S.C.O. material? A good many people distrust mass education because they think it means teaching everybody to read; which they say can't be done, and would be useless, if not actually harmful, if it could. Clearly it cannot be done till there are heaps more teachers, till the language tangle is straightened out, and till there is plenty of stuff for people to read—which is where the literature bureaux come in. There certainly are big practical difficulties. Compare the six languages already being used in the Mindolo project with the one written language that runs all over China. It might even be argued that it would be wise to accumulate a good head of water for the wheel in the form of reading matter before setting the wheel of the literacy campaign in motion. Be that as it may, Um Gerr has shown that you can get quite useful results on a small scale without literacy. But if you want to work on the big scale, surely you must have literacy. Pamphlets, books, and magazines are expensive, but in African conditions at least they travel faster than the mobile cinema van or the radio. Through mud and dust the cinema van toils painfully on; it comes to a village, gives its show and departs. The new battery enables the village wireless receiver to blare forth in full volume for a week or two, and then the set falls dumb until a spare can arrive. But the written word remains. It seems to me that Um Gerr must always remain the exception in leaving out literacy. If mass education is really to get going on a large scale, a literacy campaign must play its part. Which implies two things: first, a properly organized supply of reading matter, and second, a solution of the language difficulty. Literacy must open the door sooner or later to world culture. People cannot subsist for ever on specially written text-booklets of hygiene, they must have something to feed their minds and whet their appetite for reading. Education is not a matter of making people do things, but of making them want to do things. If you want people to read, you must give them stuff that makes them want to read. It is significant that the Sierra Leone literacy campaign has found that its best seller is a booklet of stories from tribal history. Is that not just what we should expect?

So much for literacy. Mass education is not only literary for all, literacy is a means to an end, and is only one element in a mass education campaign. What about the schools? Are they just another element? What are we to say to the Director of Education who points out that he could double and quadruple his expenditure on primary schools without meeting the need?

The first thing is to get away from the idea that a mass education campaign is going to be an enormously expensive affair which is going to compete with the schools—with the normal education estimates—for the inadequate money available. If mass education becomes enormously expensive there is something badly wrong; it seems that money is being spent on providing things for people, instead of stimulating them to provide things for themselves. Some pump-priming there must be, but the system ought before very long to be paying for itself: reading



matter being bought and paid for, teachers giving their services, buildings being erected out of existing funds, improved crops and new home industries bringing in revenue. So the money to be spent on schools ought not to be seriously curtailed because of mass education's claims.

More than that. So far from crippling the schools, mass education ought to be a help to them. How much of the money spent on primary schools is really spent usefully? One pupil in ten or one in a hundred reaches the top class of the primary school; half the pupils leave after one year or two years in the sub-standards. The school medical service cleans out the hookworm, and the children go home to be reinfected in the holidays. Their parents and the village elders understand nothing of the scope and purpose of their school studies, and the longer their schooling continues, the more likely are they to be alienated from their home life. If, while the children were in school, the parents were sharing in a mass education campaign—literacy, health, agriculture, housing, and the rest; if the school were really a community centre (which it cannot be as long as it is the seat of a culture to which the adult villagers are strangers); if the school were the power-house of the mass education campaign, and parents and their children met there in joint activity, would not the value and effectiveness of the school be immeasurably increased?

It seems that the aim of mass education is, in fact, the education of the whole community, men and women, adults and children. In a wealthy and well-equipped country like England you have compulsory schooling for every child, and you have a close network of evening classes, women's institutes, adult education classes, Y.M.C.A. centres, educational settlements, young farmers' clubs, boys' and girls' clubs, scout and guide troops, choral societies, music festivals, and societies of every conceivable kind, not to mention the commercial Press, the cinema, and the B.B.C., so that every adult has opportunities of educating himself if he chooses to take advantage of them. In an undeveloped tropical territory you have not all this machinery, and you cannot soon create it. The technique of mass education is to raise the standard of literacy and of general education so high in one area at a time that that area will produce leaders who will spread education for themselves far outside it.

Alphonse Daudet has a moving story called *The Last Lesson*, describing the last day of the French schoolmaster in a village of Alsace after the 1870 war; to-morrow he is to be replaced by a Prussian, and all the schooling henceforth will be carried on in German. On that last day, not only have all the children gathered in school without any absentees, but all the old men of the village are there, too, spelling laboriously at their French readers, striving to recapture their lost literacy in the French language before their chance is gone for ever. This is the spirit that mass education can produce.

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# REVIEWS

*IN SEARCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.* By H. V. MORTON. Methuen.  
10s. 6d.

**M**R. H. V. MORTON'S long-expected book has appeared. To multitudes of South Africans who have read some, or all of his other books, it was a matter of no common interest to forecast how his pen-pictures of South Africa would turn out and to compare them with the pictures years of actual South African experience have furnished.

Let it be said at once that this book has all the qualities of interest that the author's other books possess. One of the great aims of modern journalism—not to write a dull page—has been achieved. Mr. Morton's ability to select the picturesque, to paint a scene either outdoors or indoors, to note the familiar and to reveal what the ordinary eye does not perceive, appears on every page. Many a reader will say of his descriptions, "That is exactly true to life," but probably more often he will ask, "Why have I not noticed this?" The author, too, as all who know his work would expect, uses with great effect historical records, many of which he has clearly made himself acquainted with.

As a surface picture the book is outstanding.

But to those who can go deeper it will be, we think, a protracted disappointment. Probably a quality demanded in a successful journalist is that he adapt himself to the ways and outlook of those among whom he sojourns, that he assimilate the attitude of his hosts, and that what is alien to that attitude and outlook he should reject. No one can deny that Mr. Morton has this supreme quality.

There is a hope-inspiring paragraph in the Introduction: "This book is an attempt to put into words something of the pleasure I experienced during my travels: it is not, nor was it ever intended to be, an exposition of South African problems. The newcomer to South Africa, having shed his omniscience, quickly discovers the complexity of those problems, and the longer he stays in the country the less likely is he to be ready with solutions." All who have known how South Africa has suffered from the ignorance of passing book-makers must welcome that paragraph.

Unfortunately, it was preceded by an ominous declaration. Mr. Morton descants on the great civilization of North Africa twenty or more centuries ago. He declares that "cities such as Roman Carthage, greater and more brilliant than a dozen Johannesburgs, have vanished, leaving hardly a trace behind. Temples, colonnades, libraries, theatres, baths, triumphal archways and aqueducts have been shattered and overthrown by the barbarian. . . . This may seem a melancholy reflection as one approaches South Africa, though it might be argued that many of the circumstances which brought about the fall of Roman Africa are not likely to face her successor. But it cannot be denied that the fundamental problem at the heart of these cultures was, and is, the same: how to safeguard civilization—that always besieged citadel—from the threat of

the barbarian who, whether he be white or black, is no more ready, or able, to-day to assimilate civilization than he was in the Fourth Century."

We venture to say that if anyone wishes to understand Mr. Morton's attitude to the awakening African it is summed up in that reference to the barbarian who is not able to assimilate civilization. In keeping with this is his later statement, "I saw natives and their wives as raw as you could find them, and the more primitive they were the better I liked them."

Concerning the mixture of races in South Africa and particularly the Coloured people of Cape Town our author declares: "They must mean something different to almost everyone: to the anthropologist, a fascinating study, to the social reformer, a paradise of effort, to the sentimentalist, a heart-rending invitation, to the agitator, a perfect field for power, and to the ordinary person and the puzzled stranger a pathetic and frightening display of centuries of dock-side inter-breeding."

From these things it is but a step to lukewarmness and even antipathy to missionary effort. There is not a word in the book about the scholarship that missionaries have brought to the country, no recognition of the remarkable contribution that many of their descendants, if not themselves, have made to South Africa's history, no commendation of the pacifying influence they have had in race relations. Mr. Morton does not come within a thousand miles of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr's declaration. "It is the missionaries who above all others have made South Africa safe for European civilization." Mr. Morton, however, does emphasize their ignorance and their mischievous ways. "With the British occupation, missionaries flocked to the Cape, sent there by the many societies which had sprung up in Nineteenth Century England on the wave of middle-class Evangelicalism. From these men, England gained her first ideas of the country and its people. Some of the missionaries were narrow-minded and some were half-educated, and as in the Pacific, they strove for mastery of the native population. The Boers considered themselves slandered by the missionaries, and this was one of the most powerful reasons for their withdrawal from the Colony." It is needless to say that of the most slandered of all the early missionaries, Dr. John Philip, the author of *In Search of South Africa* does not quote the opinion of South Africa's eminent historian, Professor Eric Walker, that there is no need to whitewash Dr. Philip, but it suffices to wipe off the mud thrown at him. Again, we are informed, "It was the remote control from Whitehall that the Boers could not tolerate, and the knowledge, which cannot be glossed over, that from the earliest times of the British occupation some missionaries had slandered the Boer and had pictured him to their subscribers at home as little better than a cruel savage. Perhaps the final straw was Lord Glenelg's surprising dictum that the Kaffirs had been right when, with one stroke of the pen, he wiped out the hard-won gains of fifteen months destruction and bloodshed and ordered the Governor of the Cape to restore the frontier as it had been before the Kaffir War of 1835-36. That was the breaking point, and the Boer decided to leave a colony in which he despaired of receiving justice or understanding." There is no suggestion here of the fact that some of the most prominent missionaries were outspoken in their opposition to Lord Glenelg's action.



Some will read with amazed interest the bracketing of missionary effort with the rush for diamonds and gold. "It is perhaps curious that South Africa was called on to face two of the great Nineteenth Century movements in an extreme form: social reform, represented by the missionaries, and materialism, represented first by the diamond diggers and then by the gold mines. A people who had been cut off from Europe for centuries were asked to assimilate those violent and indigestible manifestations of western life within a century." Not a few will ponder over the connotation here of "violent and indigestible."

With the attitude we have indicated, it is not surprising that the author of *In Search of South Africa* should generalize in commendation of some of the ways of the ruling race which to many seem of doubtful benefit. Many thoughtful South Africans deplore the continued existence of the migratory system of labour, and it is noteworthy that the new Free State goldfields are anxious to avoid it. Mr. Morton's views are markedly different: "I thought the prevailing Nineteenth Century atmosphere of our own coalfields, and the inconceivably dreary lines of streets in the mining villages of South Wales and Lanarkshire, the appalling ugliness of the houses, was a far blacker picture than the scene in which the South African gold-mining native labours. Under this remarkable system of migratory labour the mine company accepts responsibility for the mine-worker in sickness and in health, houses him, feeds him, pays him, perhaps not as much as a white miner would be paid, but anyhow enough to make the work sufficiently attractive for him to volunteer to do it in no uncertain numbers. Having seen what happens to a native in Pimville and Sophiatown when he is cut adrift from his own folk and cast up on the white shore, I looked at the natives working at the stope and thanked heaven they were going back to their own people and were not fated to swell the threatening black tide of detribalization." Why should Mr. Morton gloss over the wide gap between the African and the European wage with the ingenuous "perhaps not as much as a white miner would be paid"? And was he not aware that instead of the volunteering in no uncertain numbers, the actual position is that South Africa is dependent on scores of thousands of extra-Union Natives and that desperate efforts are being made to put a pause to the falling numbers of mine-workers drawn from the Union?

We are thankfully aware of how satisfactory are the conditions on many South African farms and how kindly are the relations between many farmers and their African servants, but with the Free State's frequent cry about the scarcity of farm labourers, we may question the statement made in general about that Province: "There was upon every farm a Basuto village where the farm labourers lived with their wives and families, their hens, ducks and stock. I went into many huts, which were similar to those of their compatriots which I had seen in Basutoland. In addition to a small monthly wage, the natives were given rent-free houses, firewood their own mealie and vegetable patches, and the use of their master's stud animals. One native foreman ran his own horse and trap. As far as I could judge these farm workers were well off and well content, and the relationship between employer and man was obviously, in very many instances, that of master and old family servant."

Sometimes our author has got his facts and figures wrong. He declares that more than half the Bantu population is still found in the reserves. One of the most elementary facts of present-day South African life is that more than half of the Bantu are living outside the reserves, as a reference to census figures shows.

Mr. Morton dismisses the ugly fact of malnutrition among the Bantu with the statement. "It was strange to hear so much about malnutrition in a land which can hardly bear the weight of its beef and mutton. But the native, although surrounded by meat, rarely eats it except on ceremonial occasions."

Of the pass system it is said, "I met a number of literate natives, most of them the product of Lovedale and other missionary schools, from whom I heard a lot of grievances about the Colour Bar, the pass system, whereby every native has to carry an identification card (they were astonished to see mine!), the police pick-up vans and so forth." It is well known that the objection is not to carrying an identification certificate, but to carrying several papers—sometimes as many as six—and to the fact that the other sections of the population are not required to do so. Not only literate natives but some of South Africa's most responsible statesmen have roundly condemned the pass system, while government commission after commission has pleaded for its reform.

To us it is most unwelcome to pillory thus a book to which, with thousands of others, we looked forward with eagerness. But Mr. Morton has departed from his professed objectivity; he has scattered his opinions on South Africa's problems throughout the volume; and by these opinions and his selection of material has presented a one-sided series of pictures.

Is it simply that he has succumbed to his environment? Is it a Britisher's contempt of "lesser breeds without the law?" Or is it that his success has brought him to the side of the powerful? Of a greater journalist (William Robertson Nicoll) we recall his biographer said, "As he succeeded, he grew too fond of successful men. His elder daughter admits, 'I think we were brought up to consider unsuccessful people as not much worth knowing.' In his heart her father believed that substantially all failure is due either to stupidity or to indolence." We may well believe that the future does not rest with those who pin their faith to a master race which alone can assimilate civilization, or who divide mankind into those who rule by right and those who, poor devils, must serve their betters. We thought—and the life of Britain to-day confirms it—that Charles Dickens and a host of others had consigned such notions to the limbo of outworn things.

We regret, too, that Mr. Morton has been unkindly to a group of the Union's spiritual and social workers who at least have been, in the main, content to live barely, to share their life with the underprivileged, and to seek to be faithful to the life and words of the One from Whom all that is worthwhile in modern life has sprung.

R. H. W. SHEPHERD.

[This review by the Principal of Lovedale, South Africa, is reprinted by permission from *The South African Outlook*.]



*THE SALIENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.* By Osmund Victor, C.R. S.P.G. 10s. 6d.

This book was first published eighteen years ago, has been re-printed three times, and now appears in a completely revised and enlarged edition. The first seven chapters, which originally occupied 184 pages are now slightly compressed, but the matter has been revised, and where necessary re-written, by Father Victor himself. A final chapter entitled "Salient Problems" is from the pen of Mr. Oliver Walker of the South African Institute of Race Relations. Though slightly less attractive in style, this addition brings the volume completely up-to-date, and shows expert knowledge of the many problems of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

Yet even here there is a slight "time-lag." Events move rapidly, and while these lines are being written we hear of riots in Durban between Zulus and Indians, and wonder what may be the outcome of such disorders.

Various new points are mentioned. We are told of changes brought about at Tristan da Cunha; of increased contributions to Missions in Natal; of the missionary vision of the S.P.C.K. in sponsoring a new Teacher-training College at Gwelo; of the multitudinous African sects; of the increasing urbanization of the African population; of the proposed division of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia; and of the Cyrene Mission. An exhibition of work from this Institution is now in London, and will be shewn in the Provinces during the year.

There is a useful bibliography at the end. If a reprint is called for, it would be helpful to have a fuller index.

We wish this edition as good a circulation as its predecessor.

R. H. BAKER.

*TALKING DRUMS OF AFRICA.* By JOHN F. CARRINGTON. Carey Kingsgate Press. 1949. 5s.

When any part of the world is sufficiently little known to be the subject of "travellers' tales," all kinds of sensational nonsense about it pass into popular belief. At one time every European mariner believed that to sail south of Cape Bojador was to have his white skin turned black. It would be hard to find anyone who entertained this notion nowadays, but nevertheless all kinds of misconceptions persist about what journalists still delight to call "the Dark Continent." One of the errors most frequently regaled concerns the transmission of messages by means of drums. This book is to be welcomed if only because it gives the true explanation in a more or less popular form. This is presumably what would be put forward in justification of the title, since the book is almost entirely concerned with an area of central Africa, where the drum language is perhaps most highly developed, and where the author has spent ten years as a missionary. But the danger of a popular account is that it leads to such misleading generalisations as "in all drum-signalling communities every male member of the tribe has a drum name." This is true of the central African area principally spoken of, but is not of universal African validity.



The book describes the drums used, and the way messages are sent—by imitating the tonal pattern of actual speech; and the corollary is pointed out, that stories of messages travelling great distances *which cross language barriers* must be accepted with great caution. As this explanation of the use of the tonal pattern will be the principal interest to most readers, it is perhaps unfortunate that the chapter describing the drums is interpolated after the chapter on African languages; this part of the book makes the most demand on the uninitiated reader, but is an essential preliminary to understanding the chapter on “How Messages Are Sent,” which would better have followed immediately.

Minor criticisms are that no scales are given, either with the sketches of instruments or with the language map of Africa—which is itself unworthy of the book; a sketch map of the central African region, indicating the principal places and tribal areas mentioned in the text, would have added greatly to the understanding and interest of the ordinary reader. And is it being captious to enquire, when one reads “It is this aspect of tone which lies at the root of all drum languages,” whether an aspect can lie at the root of anything?

We should, however, be grateful to the author for giving a trustworthy account of the talking drums of central Africa, which may do something to repair the harm done by enthusiastic but unreliable books such as *Africa Drums*.<sup>\*</sup> The reason for the host of fantastic stories about African drum messages lies in the fact that the evolution of a system of “talking” on drums is in itself quite a remarkable human achievement, the wonder of which has been masked because its true character was not discovered by Europeans until after the invention of the electric telegraph. Wellington or Napoleon would have given half an army to have possessed as effective a telegraph as must have already been in use in their day in parts of Africa. But, as with the very nature of the universe itself, to dispel the “mystery” should not be to lessen the wonder.

C. T. SHAW.

<sup>\*</sup>R. St Barbe Baker, *Africa Drums*, London, 1942.

## BOOK NOTICES

*Sermons for the Christian Year: 1st and 2nd Series*, by Ronald Armstrong (Longmans Green & Co., each 3s. 9d.). In these two valuable little books the Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Lagos has aimed at providing homilies for “young teachers, who, not too well equipped, are frequently called upon to conduct services.” They should be most useful not only to the Africans of the Lagos Diocese for whom they were written, but to many others also in different parts of the world. They are pithy, relevant and stimulating.

*How to Read the Bible*, by E. J. Goodspeed (Oxford University Press, 6s. 6d.) is a very different book which was originally published in the U.S.A. The author’s purpose is stated to be “a literary and historical approach” to the Bible, and he deals with the chief books in it as

history, poetry, drama and fiction. The religious messages are also stressed. Some of the chapters will seem to many readers to be slight, and the book as a whole is definitely "unusual." Informed teachers and adults will find it stimulating, but it is hardly suitable for general reading.

The S.C.M. Press is doing a valuable service in producing the series called Viewpoints at a reasonable price. The most recent book in this series is "*Is Christianity Unique?*" by Nicol Macnicol (Student Christian Movement Press, 2s. 6d.). This is a revised edition of a work first published in 1936 and has been brought right up-to-date with a new chapter on "Modern Rivals of Christianity." Though short it contains a great deal of useful information: it is not always easy to read, but it well repays the effort which is required.

Many of us know too little of the work of missionary teachers in other lands, and we welcome therefore the publication of *La vie et l'œuvre de Raoul Allier, 1862-1939*, by Gaston Richard (Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault, 300 fr.). It is a worthy tribute to Professor Allier, who was Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris for many years, and who made important contributions to the Christian interpretation of history, philosophy and sociology.

St. Boniface College, Warminster, for eighty-one years served the Church by testing and training young men for service overseas, and its old students are to be found in many parts of the world. Now that it has ceased to have an independent existence, it is fitting that its history should be published. Many beside old Bonifacians will welcome *The Story of St. Boniface College, Warminster*, by Canon Prideaux (published by the College Council, 9s. 6d.). It can be obtained from the author, who was Librarian and Lecturer for many years, at Woodcombe Farmhouse, Minehead.

*Mackay of the Great Lake*, by C. E. Padwick (Highway Press, 3s. 6d.) makes a welcome reappearance in a revised edition. Mackay, "a Scotsman, the toughest little fellow you could conceive," as Stanley described him, was one of the pioneers of the Church of Uganda. At a time when so much attention is focused on the material development of Africa we do well to remember the work of Mackay, who combined the preaching of the Gospel with the raising of the standard of African life, and showed in the most practical way his love for those among whom he worked.

*The Official Year-Book of the Church of England*, 1949 (Press and Publications Board, 12s. 6d.), contains for the first time since the war the statistics of the Church of England. These show an increase in the number of baptisms but a decrease of Easter Communicants. Useful articles summarize the history, status, functions and authority of the Lambeth Conference. The Year Book contains a mass of information which is essential for any who wish to understand what the Church is doing.

Reviews are by the Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd, Principal of Lovedale, the Rev. Father R. H. Baker of the Community of the Resurrection, and Mr. C. T. Shaw, Education Officer, Cambridgeshire, formerly on the staff of Achimota College.